August, 1988 · Volume I, Number 1 $4.00

THE RETURN

AN INTERNATIONAL PALESTINIAN MONTHLY MAGAZINE

AL-INTIFADAH

EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEWS

Um Jihad
Bassam Abu Sharif

Mubarak Awad
on
The Intifadah

The Uprising and the American Public
by
Clovis Maksoud

Profile of Faisal Hussaini

Israel: U.S. Ally or Liability?
by
Ghada Talhami

The generation of the Intifadah.

THE RETURN

AN INTERNATIONAL PALESTINIAN MONTHLY MAGAZINE

Publisher & Founder
Raymonda H. Tawil

Editor-in-Chief
Bishara A. Bahbah, Ph.D.

Editorial Board

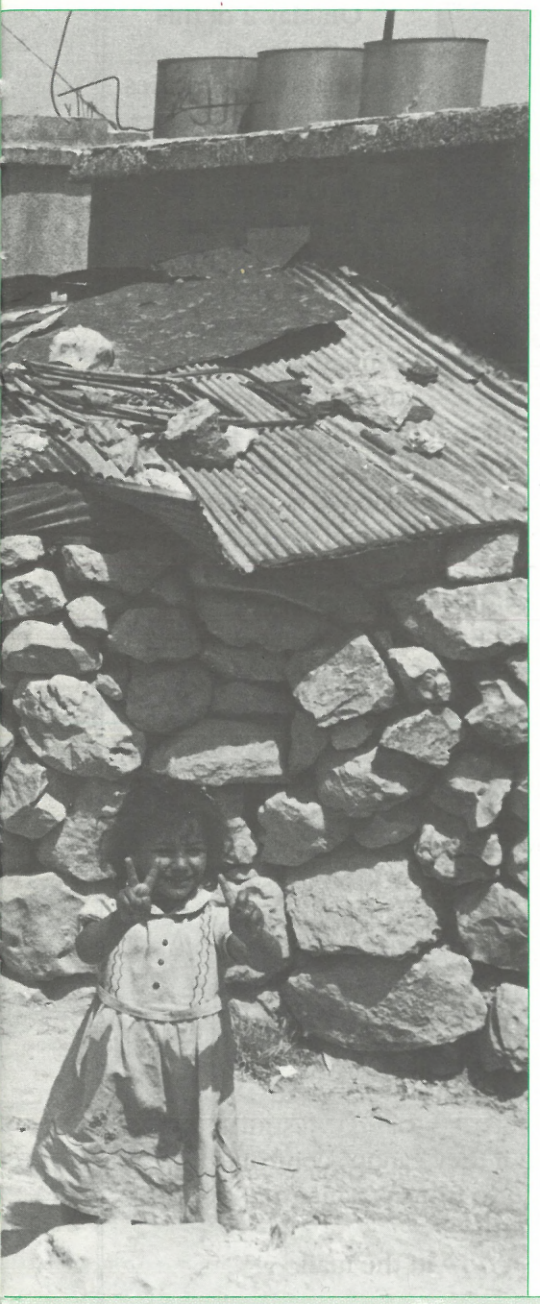
John D. Law
Writer
International Consultant

Mohamed Hakki
Journalist

Sam Burgan
Attorney

Mailing Address:
Jerusalem Press Service
865 National Press Building · Washington, D.C. 20045
Telephone: (202) 783-2511 Fax: (202) 783-2514

CONTENTS



2 Editorial

3 A Word from the Publisher: A Tribute to Abu Jihad *by Raymonda Tawil*

4 Interview: Um Jihad *by Suha Tawil*

6 Interview: Bassam Abu Sharif *by Bishara A. Bahbah*

8 Palestinian Document Circulated at the Arab Summit in Algeria: "PLO View: Prospects of a Palestinian-Israeli Settlement" *by Bassam Abu Sharif*

10 Profile: Faisal Hussaini *by Shukri Abed*

12 The Uprising and the American Public *by Clovis Maksoud*

14 The Meaning of the *Intifadah* *by Mubarak Awad*

15 A Day in the Life of the Uprising: A Photo Essay

19 The Society of In'Ash Al-Usra *by Shukri Abed*

21 Dukakis and the Palestine Question *by John Roberts*

24 Arab-American Response to the Uprising *by John Egan*

27 China: Israel's Biggest Arms Customer *by Jane Hunter*

29 Israel: A U.S. Ally or a Liability? *by Ghada Talhami*

COVER PHOTO:
A "liberated" mosque in the West Bank village of Al-Mazra'a Al-Sharqiya.
Photo by Beverly Orr

Photo by Michael Keating.

THE RETURN is a international Palestinian monthly magazine. It is published in Washington, D.C. by *The Jerusalem Press Service.* The cover price is U.S. $4.00. Subscriptions are $24.00 per year. For additional savings, see evelope in the center of the magazine.

We encourage the submission of articles, letters to the editor, and photographs. We also would like to receive interviews, book reviews, unusual documents, and data. All manuscripts must be typed. If possible, call or write the editor to discuss the theme of your article prior to writing it. Also, contact the editor for deadlines.

Articles in **THE RETURN** may be reproduced *only* with the written permission of the editor or the publisher. Requests for written permission should be sent to: **THE RETURN**, 865 National Press Building, Washington, D.C. 20045.

Publishers are urged to send books relating to the Middle East for reviews.

EDITORIAL

On May 2 of this year, the Israeli occupation authorities withdrew the licenses of *Al-Awda* (The Return) magazines: the English weekly and the Arabic bi-weekly. Both magazines, which Israel banned from distribution in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, had been published in Jerusalem since 1982.

According to the closure order, Israel withdrew the licenses of *Al-Awda* claiming that it was sponsored and financed by a "terrorist organization," and actively involved in servicing said organization. This Israeli decision was based on Article 94 (2) of the British Mandatory Laws of 1945, which were in force during the British Mandate of Palestine, and which Israel has conveniently resurrected to suppress the Palestinian people's freedom of speech under its occupation.

The Uprising, or *Intifadah*, has caught Israel by surprise and has forced it to scramble for ways to end the Uprising. Palestinians under Israel's occupation have been killed, maimed, imprisoned, and beaten. Palestinian institutions, from charities to businesses, schools, universities, and press offices have been shut down.

These tactics have not and will not succeed. Palestinians are determined to see the *Intifadah* lead to the end of the occupation and to the creation of a Palestinian state, and in turn, to lasting peace between Israel and the Palestinians. Twenty-one years of oppression, lack of freedom, and suffering are far beyond what any people should be subjected to.

The return of *The Return* is indicative that the Palestinian people are determined and resourceful, and if they cannot confront the occupation in Jerusalem, they will do so from Washington, D.C. or, for that matter, from anywhere on earth.

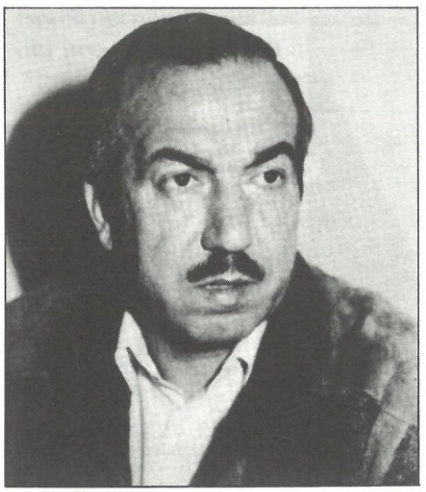
To the Israelis I say, expect *The Return* in the mail.

Bishara A. Bahbah,
Editor-in-Chief

A WORD FROM THE PUBLISHER

A TRIBUTE TO ABU JIHAD

BY RAYMONDA TAWIL



Khalil Wazir [Abu Jihad].

I would like to dedicate this first issue of *The Return* to a great Palestinian leader, Abu Jihad—to the noble goals and principles for which he stood, fought, and died.

If for a moment Israel thought that it could put an end to or even slow down the vigor of the *Intifadah* by killing Abu Jihad, then it was mistaken. The Palestinians view the slaughter of their leader as an act of desperation on Israel's part.

It is somewhat ironic that the Israelis, at this juncture in history, singled out Abu Jihad as their target. Abu Jihad is known as a rational man, a man who yearned for peace and justice, and a man of reconciliation. Maybe what the Israelis intended to kill were the rising prospects for peace between themselves and the Palestinians.

Abu Jihad will be missed by Palestinians and Arabs, and all who care for Palestine. Our consolation is that he has left us a glorious legacy: the *Intifadah*. The *Intifadah* is going to lead to the creation of a Palestinian state and, in turn, to a lasting peace on the Palestinian-Israeli front. ■

INTERVIEW

UM JIHAD

BY SUHA TAWIL

Um Jihad with PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat.

On the occasion of the publishing of the first issue of The Return, *we asked Suha Tawil to interview Mrs. Khalil Al-Wazir (Um Jihad), widow of the slain Palestinian leader affectionately known as Abu Jihad.*

Q: How are your children coping with the death of their father?

It is a bitter and painful feeling for them to know that they will not see him again. My youngest son, Nidal, still has nightmares. Every day, as the sun is setting and darkness sets in, he feels insecure and fearful. He still wakes up in the middle of the night screaming. It is going to take him a long time before he can forget . . . . The murderers fired above his head and on the walls of his bedroom as he lay asleep.

As for me, I still feel that Abu Jihad is with us. Although he used to be gone for days on end, I always knew he was coming back. Knowing that he is not coming back is a living nightmare.

Q: How is Abu Jihad's absence going to affect your work for the Palestinian movement?

I am more determined than ever to continue with my humble share in the struggle. In fact, I feel that I have a stronger obligation to fill at least part of the gap left by Abu Jihad. His responsibilities were many and urgent.

At the same time, I am in charge, within the PLO, of the Social Affairs Department which cares for the families of the Palestinian martyrs and the prisoners of war. The department currently assists 65,000 families. It is a big responsibility, but I am ready and eager to tackle it in addition to my other political duties. I am the secretary of Fatah's Revolutionary Council.

Q: Who should be blamed for Israel's success in assassinating Abu Jihad: the Palestinian security forces or Abu Jihad himself?

Abu Jihad bears a large part of the responsibility. He always refused to

have a large number of bodyguards. He was satisfied with having just one armed escort. He felt that, while in Tunis, he would be safe. I raised the issue of his security several times with him. He never seemed too worried. He used to say that he was the only one who knew where he was going. Besides, his whereabouts, and indeed his whole life, were always shrouded with secrecy.

Q: Do you have a message that you wish to address to the American people?

Yes. I would like to tell them that what they see on their television screens is a people fighting oppression and forced occupation. Twenty years of inhumane practices by the Israeli occupation authorities against our people is much too much.

The Palestinian people look toward the American people and see how they enjoy liberty and a democratic way of life. All we ask from the Americans is to help us achieve those same freedoms that they espouse and, I am sure, would fight for.

I appeal to the American people to stand up for the rights of the oppressed, including the rights of the Palestinian people. All we want is to live free and in peace.

Q: Do you have a message for Arab-Americans?

To all Americans of Arab origin, I send my greetings and the greetings of the Palestinian people. I would like to point out that although the bullets that killed Abu Jihad aimed at destroying the *Intifadah*, that has not and will not happen. The blood of Abu Jihad and all our martyrs has rekindled and further inflamed the torch of the *Intifadah*.

I do have an urgent request from the Arab-Americans and those Americans in support of peace and justice. The Palestinians under occupation need your help. Arab-American communities in the United States should organize themselves in a program of "social sponsorship." Arab-American communities all across the United States should designate villages, towns and refugee camps and provide them with full moral and material support. This is imperative to the success and the continuation of the *Intifadah*. ■

Suha Tawil is a correspondent of The Return *in Paris, France.*

Michael Keating

INTERVIEW

BASSAM ABU SHARIF

ADVISOR TO PLO CHAIRMAN YASSER ARAFAT & AUTHOR OF DOCUMENT "PLO VIEW: PROSPECTS OF A PALESTINIAN-ISRAELI SETTLEMENT"

Top: **Bassam Abu Sharif.** ***Bottom:*** **PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat.**

Note: *Bassam Abu Sharif's document was circulated during the Arab Summit held in Algiers in early June. An edited version was published in* The New York Times *on June 22, 1988. We are reproducing the entire document that was circulated in Algiers. (See page 8) Although Abu Sharif's name appears on the document, observers believe that Yasser Arafat has privately endorsed it, and is working behind the scenes to rally support among individual leaders within the PLO.*

This document is unique in that it explicitly expresses the PLO's willingness to recognize Israel. It also attempts to build on the positive aspects of the relationship between Israelis and Palestinians.

Although reaction has been delayed, the document has received much interest. Bishara A. Bahbah, editor-in-chief of The Return, *interviewed Abu Sharif in an attempt to find answers to the many questions the document has generated.*

Q: Did you author this document before consulting Chairman Arafat?

The article that I have written is the result of an evaluation of the situation in the Middle East in general, and in particular, to the boiling situation in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and East Jerusalem.

I have decided to write the article in response to erroneous U.S. policies in the Middle East, and to bring a better understanding of the PLO's [conception] of a solution to the Palestinian question. The article was written in an effort to pave the way for realistic assessment of the situation in the Middle East on the part of the U.S. government.

The U.S. government has been blindfolded so far, in that it does not acknowledge the legitimate national rights, the rights of 5.5 million Palestinians to self-determination and the establishment of their own independent state.

The Arab countries have clearly and openly reiterated that they will accept the guarantees of an interna-

tional conference, which will be extended to all states in the Middle East, including the independent Palestinian state.

Q: What is your reaction to the denunciation of your article by a number of groups within the PLO and by Salah Khalaf, a key member of Fatah's Central Committee?

We are very proud of our democracy. Why should people in the West deny the Palestinians the right to enjoy democracy which, in our case, is more liberal than the type of democracy prevailing in several Western countries?

The Palestine National Council (PNC), or the Palestinians' parliament in exile, debates central issues relating to strategies and tactics. Once the PNC passes a resolution, everyone abides by the decision. When new issues arise in the midst of our struggle, we debate and argue, and in most cases, in an open way. Then we convene to centralize the issue in light of the majority's point of view.

Q: Does this mean your article falls within the strategy set by the PNC?

The political issues dealt with in my article are definitely in conformity with the PNC's decisions, and I feel that I have done a duty to my people in putting forth in straight-forward language what we have expressed in PNC decisions. I have no reason to think that I was singing out of tune with my chorus. I have no reason to react to whatever criticism had been openly voiced by certain Palestinian leaders and organizations. There is one thing about which I am sure. And that is that many political forces, inside Israel and in one Arab country, are worried to death about the possibility of establishing a bridge between the U.S. government and the PLO. I am sure this will come about since the PLO is quite self-confident and the *Intifadah* so deeply rooted. The United States, as the superpower interested in the Middle East for strategic reasons, will definitely seek to build a relationship with the PLO sooner than the present residents of the White House might think.

The political issues dealt with in my article are definitely in conformity with the PNC's decisions.

Boys and girls demonstrate in the West Bank village of Kufer-Mallek. Beverly Orr

Q: Will your proposal create a split within the PLO if a majority of the PNC or the Executive Committee of the PLO adopts it?

The point is that much will depend on the attitude of the American government vis-a-vis the outright rejection of my proposals by Israel's leaders including Peres, Shamir and Rabin.

If the Palestinians see serious steps being taken by the U.S. government in order to pave the way for a just solution to the Middle East conflict—one that will satisfy the national rights of the 5.5 million Palestinians: including the establishment of a state—then the Palestinians will, in a democratic fashion, decide what to do. If we cannot bring about unanimity in the decision, then we will abide by the rules of the democratic game along the same lines adopted by France, Britain, and the United States.

Q: What is your reaction to Jerome Segal's proposal that if the Palestinians want a state, then they should declare one?

After decades of struggle we have realized that announcements of changes *of* substance do not mean changes *in* substance. Therefore, we have our own plans. ■

FOR THE RECORD

PALESTINIAN DOCUMENT CIRCULATED AT THE ARAB SUMMIT IN ALGERIA

PLO VIEW:

PROSPECTS OF A PALESTINIAN-ISRAELI SETTLEMENT

BY BASSAM ABU SHARIF

Everything that has been said about the Middle East conflict has focused on the differences between Palestinians and Israelis and ignored the points on which they are in almost total agreement.

These points are easy to overlook, hidden as they are under a 70-year accumulation of mutual hostility and suspicion, but they exist nevertheless, and in them lies the hope that the peace that has eluded this region for so long is finally within reach.

Peel off the layers of fear and mistrust that successive Israeli leaders have piled on the substantive issues and you will find that the Palestinians and Israelis are in general agreement on ends and means:

- Israel's objectives are lasting peace and security. Lasting peace and security are also the objectives of the Palestinian people. No one can understand the Jewish people's centuries of suffering more than the Palestinians. We know what it means to be stateless and the object of the fear and prejudice of the nations. Thanks to the various Israeli and other governments that have had the power to determine the course of our people's lives, we know what it feels like when human beings are considered somehow less human than others and denied the basic rights that people along the globe take for granted. We feel that no people—neither the Jewish people nor the Palestinian people—deserve the abuse and disfranchisement that hopelessness inevitably entails. We believe that all peoples—the Jewish and the Palestinians included—have the right to run their own affairs, expecting from their neighbors not only non-belligerence but the kind of political and economic cooperation without which no state can be truly secure, no matter how massive its war machine, and without which no nation can truly prosper, no matter how generous its friends in distant lands may be.

- The Palestinians want that kind of lasting peace and security for themselves and the Israelis because no one can build his own future on the ruins of another's. We are confident that this desire and this realization are shared by all but an insignificant minority in Israel.

- The means by which the Israelis want to achieve lasting peace and security is direct talks, with no attempt by any outside party to impose or veto a settlement.

- The Palestinians agree. We see no way for any dispute to be settled without direct talks between the parties to that dispute, and we feel that any settlement that has to be imposed by an outside power is a settlement that is unacceptable to one or both of the belligerents and therefore a settlement that will not stand the test of time. The key to a Palestinian-Israeli settlement lies in talks between the Palestinians and the Israelis. The Palestinians would be deluding themselves if they thought that their problems with the Israelis can be solved in negotiations with non-Israelis, including the United States. By the same token, the Israelis would be deluding themselves if they thought

that Israel's problems with the Palestinians can be solved in negotiations with non-Palestinians, including Jordan.

• The Palestinians would like to choose their Israeli interlocutor. We have little doubt that we could reach a satisfactory settlement with the Peace Now movement in a month. We know, however, that an agreement with Peace Now would not be an agreement with Israel, and since an agreement with Israel is what we are after, we are ready to talk to Mr. Shimon Peres' Labor alignment, and to Yitzhak Shamir's Likud bloc, or anyone else the Israelis choose to represent them.

• The Israelis and Mr. Schultz would also prefer to deal with Palestinians of their own choosing. But it would be as futile for them as for us to talk to people who have no mandate to negotiate. If it is a settlement with the Palestinians that they seek, as we assume it is, then it is with the representatives of that people that they must negotiate, and the Palestinian people, by the only means that they have at their disposal, have chosen their representatives. Every Palestinian questioned by diplomats and the newsmen of the international community has stated unequivocally that his representative is the Palestine Liberation Organization. If that is regarded as an unreliable expression of the Palestinians' free will, then give the Palestinians the chance to express their free will in a manner that will convince all doubters, arrange for an internationally-supervised referendum in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and allow the population to choose between the PLO and any other group of Palestinians that Israel or the United States or the international community wishes to nominate. The PLO is ready to abide by the outcome and step aside for any alternative leadership should the Palestinian people choose one. The PLO will do this because its *raison d'etre* is not the undoing of Israel, but the salvation of the Palestinian people and their rights, including their right to democratic self-expression and national self-determination.

• Regardless of the satanic image that the PLO's struggle for those rights has given it in the United States and Israel, the fact remains that this organization was built on democratic principles and seeks democratic objectives. If Israel and its supporters in the U.S. administration can grasp that fact, the fears that prevent them from accepting the PLO as the only valid interlocutor toward any Palestinian-Israeli settlement would vanish.

• Those fears, as far as one can tell from what has been written and said in Israel and the United States, center on the PLO's failure of unconditionally accepting Security Council Resolution 242 and 338 and on the possibility that a Palestinian state on the West Bank and Gaza would be a radical, totalitarian threat to its neighbors.

• The PLO, however, does accept Resolution 242 and 338. What prevents it from saying so unconditionally is not what is in the Resolutions but what is not in them, neither Resolution says anything about the national rights of the Palestinian people, including their democratic right to self-expression and their national right to self-determination. For that reason and that reason alone, we have repeatedly said that we accept Resolution 242 and 338 in the context of the UN Resolutions which do recognize the national rights of the Palestinian people.

• As for the fear that a Palestinian state will be a threat to its neighbor, the democratic nature of the PLO—with its legislative, executive, and other popularly-based institutions—should argue against it. If that does not constitute a solid enough guarantee that the state of Palestine would be a democratic one, the Palestinians would be open to the idea of a brief, mutually-acceptable transitional period during which an international mandate would guide the Occupied Palestinian Territories to democratic Palestinian statehood.

• Beyond that, the Palestinians would accept—indeed, insist on—international guarantees for the security of all states in the region, including Palestine and Israel. It is precisely our desire for such guarantees that motivates our demand that bilateral peace talks with Israel be conducted under a UN-sponsored international conference.

• The Palestinians feel that they have much more to fear from Israel, with its mighty war machine and its nuclear arsenal, than Israel has to fear from them. They would therefore welcome any reasonable measure that would promote the security of their state and its neighbors, including the deployment of a UN buffer force on the Palestinian side of the Israeli-Palestinian border.

• Time, sometimes the great healer, is often the great spoiler. Many Israelis no doubt realize it and are trying to communicate it to the rest of their people. As for us, we are ready for peace now, and we can deliver it. It is our hope that the opportunity that presents itself today will not be missed.

• If it is missed, we will have no choice but to continue to exercise our right to resist the occupation, our ultimate aim being a free, dignified, and secure life not only for our children but also for the children of the Israelis. ■

PROFILE OF A LEADER

FAISAL HUSSAINI

BY SHUKRI ABED

Although the conditions in both prisons where Mr. Hussaini was detained are extremely bad, he considers himself a bit luckier than thousands of other Palestinians currently being held in detention centers like Ketziot (Ansar III) and Al-Zahiriyyah, where conditions are inhumane and unacceptable by any standard.

"The Israelis are afraid of peace with the Palestinians, and that is one of the reasons they arrested me," says Faisal Hussaini, director of the East Jerusalem-based Arab Studies Society. Hussaini was released from Israeli prisons in June after nine months of administrative detention.

Hussaini, son of the well-known Palestinian leader Abd Al-Qader Hussaini, was born in Baghdad in 1940. He attended elementary and secondary schools in Cairo, and then moved to Jerusalem. In 1966, he went to Damascus to study at its military academy. Soon after the June 1967 War, he returned to Jerusalem—the birthplace of his parents and ancestors. Three months after he arrived in Jerusalem, he was arrested and accused of illegal possession of a weapon—an allegation for which he was sentenced to one year in prison.

Although he was living in Jerusalem during the 1967 census, after his release from prison, Israeli authorities refused to give him an identity card. For the next seven years he waged a legal battle to establish residency in Jerusalem. It was finally granted to him in 1975.

Hussaini worked as a radiographer until 1979 when he decided to establish the Arab Studies Society (back then it was called the Arab Studies Association) and he has been the director ever since.

Last September, three months before the *Intifadah* started, Hussaini was arrested by order of Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin. He was never told why he had been arrested, nor was he ever officially accused of any illegal activity. However, Hussaini thinks that there were three probable reasons for his arrest.

First, he had intensive contacts with Mosheh Amirav, a former member of the Likud party. Hussaini and other Palestinians talked in the middle of last year with Mr. Amirav in an attempt to find a formula to solve the Palestinian-Israeli conflict which would be acceptable to both the Israeli government and the PLO. Hussaini is convinced that Prime Minister Shamir was behind Amirav's activity, yet when these contacts were disclosed, the latter

was dismissed by his party and Hussaini was arrested.

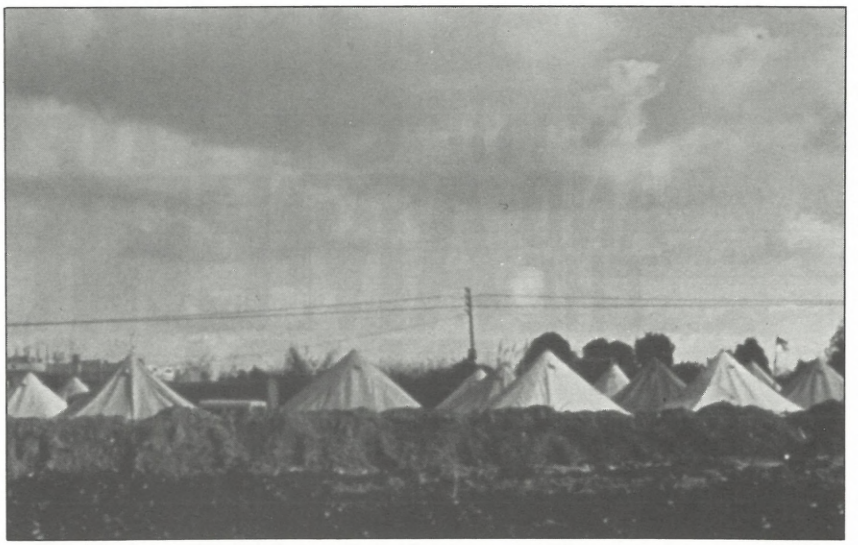
Secondly, Israel fears all Palestinian institutions and organized activity, even when the activity is merely academic. Hussaini believes that by arresting him, the Israelis hoped to weaken the Arab Studies Society. In fact, says Hussaini, his arrest had the opposite effect on the Arab Studies Society.

Thirdly, Israel has black-listed certain Palestinians on the basis of their political, social, or economic status. Regardless of whether they have any connection with current events, these people can be arrested by the Israeli authorities whenever it is felt there is a need—either as a deterrent to Palestinian organized activity, or to reassure the Israeli public or some political group.

Although the conditions in both prisons where Mr. Hussaini was detained are extremely bad, he considers himself a bit luckier than thousands of other Palestinians currently being held in detention centers like Ketziot (Ansar III) and Al-Zahiriyyah, where conditions are inhumane and unacceptable by any standard. Faisal Hussaini spent most of the last nine months in the Ramleh prison, also known as the Nitsan prison. He was held with 13 other detainees in a room originally designed for eight people. Five of the detainees had to sleep on the floor in the crowded cell where they spent about 21 hours every day. They were allowed to leave the room for only two hours every day, in addition to one hour divided between each of the three meals.

FAISAL HUSSAINI'S EVALUATION OF THE "INTIFADAH"

Hussaini believes that the *Intifadah* has brought the Palestinian people to a crucial stage in their struggle for regaining freedom. It has had three main positive outcomes:



Ansar III—where Palestinian prisoners are held in makeshift tents in the middle of the desert.

- Until now, Israel has argued that there is a silent majority among the Palestinian people that does not approve of the resistance to occupation and does not accept the PLO as its sole representative. It has argued that this silent majority has been afraid to say what it really feels. The *Intifadah* has completely exposed the fallacy of this position.
- On the political level, there are various actors involved in the Palestinian quest for self-determination, and one should look at the final result of the interaction of these parties in order to accurately evaluate developments. These actors are the Palestinians, the Israelis, the Arab countries, and the international community. On the Israeli side, the *Intifadah* seems to have caused movement to the right. However, this is only a short-term development. In the long-run things will change, as economic and political pressures will convince the Israelis to change their attitudes and political convictions. Hussaini believes that the *Intifadah* will expose the short-sightedness of the right-wing philosophy. He also thinks that the impressive comeback of people like Lova Eliav to the Labor party might be a sign of changing attitudes in Israel.

  Hussaini believes that the Arab peoples, who under normal circumstances are marginally political, will be politically awakened by the continuation of the *Intifadah*. This, in turn, will pressure the rulers of Arab countries to work more seriously towards the solution of the Palestinian problem, fearing possible consequences if they do not.
- For the international community, one should take into consideration the changes that are taking place as the result of Gorbachev's new approach. During the November summit meeting between Gorbachev and Reagan, the Palestinian question was not discussed, but by May, the effects of the *Intifadah* virtually dictated that the Palestinian question be discussed at the Moscow summit. ■

Shukri Abed holds a Ph.D. from Harvard University. He is a freelance writer based in Jerusalem.

THE UPRISING AND THE AMERICAN PUBLIC

BY CLOVIS MAKSOUD

Developments in the occupied Palestinian territories since the Uprising began have made the task of articulating an Arab vision of a Middle East peace much easier. For the Uprising itself has dispersed the clouds that had heretofore obscured the causal factors behind the question of Palestine. And it has now cleared the way for a process of "unlearning" many of the distortions that prevailed until recently in U.S. public opinion. In fact, it has confirmed for Americans a reality long ago assumed by 160 million Arabs—namely, that Palestinian rights cannot be overlooked or denied, nor the Palestine problem be made to disappear over time.

At the same time, the Uprising has defined the parameters of mainstream Palestinian resistance to Israeli occupation. Today there is a widely shared determination among Palestinians that fringe groups will not be allowed to detract from the authentic and universal character of this popular uprising. This is as it should be.

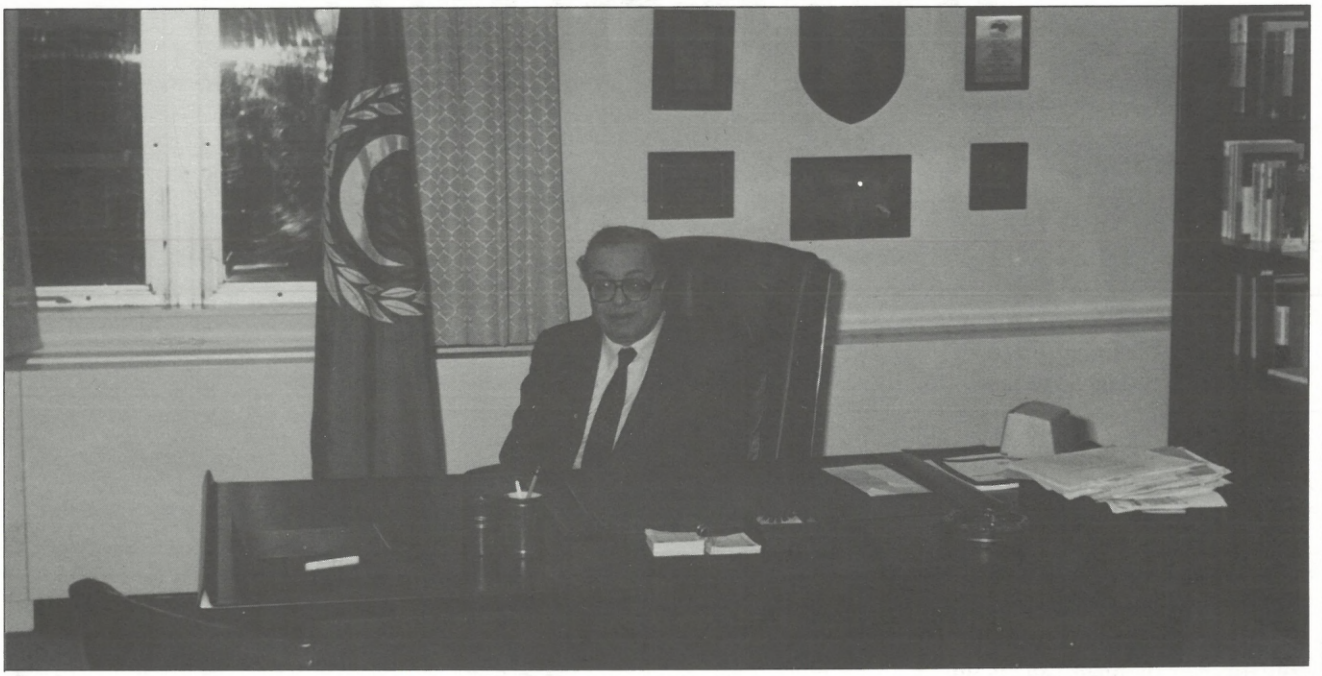
International attention, especially that of the United States, has been refocused on the centrality of the Palestinian issue to every Arab and to every Arab state; and in that process, Arab priorities have become much better appreciated. Many of our positions and policies, which were dismissed or disregarded in days past, have begun to be accorded deserved credibility and relevance in Washington. Many popular myths and even deliberate distortions about the Palestinian people have begun a hasty retreat in the face of attempts at greater impartiality and a more profound sense of objective inquiry.

Thus, the nonviolent thrust and the spontaneous and popular nature of the Uprising have alerted the American public to the fallacious nature of the "information" that apologists for Israel have successfully propagated here over the last few decades as part of the popular culture.

The skepticism that has followed has prepared the ground for a healthy process of questioning Israeli behavior, policies and objectives. The immunity Israel once enjoyed in the United States is no longer absolute and impregnable—not when public, congressional and administration circles all have raised serious questions. For example, there was a time, not long ago, when even a hint of comparing Israel to the apartheid regime in South Africa would have brought the house down on the head of the person who dared to do so. Now the analogy has become a point of reference, both in the press and in public debate, with the similarities broadly recognized and frequently cited.

Of course, one of the most significant developments has been the impact of the Uprising on the Jewish community worldwide, but especially in the United States. What did the Uprising and subsequent Israeli measures to suppress it reveal? It has brought out the best in Jewish humanist values as well as the worst in the Israeli and Zionist establishments. The polarization between the two has revealed not only Jewish sensitivity to Palestinian suffering, but also a desire on the part of the Jewish community here, jolted by the disgrace of Israeli ruthlessness, to right the wrong. This Jewish constituency of

Many of our positions and policies, which were dismissed or disregarded in days past, have begun to be accorded deserved credibility and relevance in Washington.



Ambassador Clovis Madsoud.

conscience is becoming more assertive and more critical, and that is a welcome development.

By contrast, we have witnessed some of the worst features of Zionist revisionism, thanks to the Sharons, the Shamirs, the Begins and their like. For years, we and all people who care for human rights and personal dignity, have suffered their arrogance, their contempt for international law, for U.N. resolutions, and for human decency. But now television cameras on the scene have captured unbridled Israeli "democracy" in the systematic denial of basic Palestinian rights. And that small look at Palestinian reality has meant that our worst fears are now appreciated and, ironically, belatedly justified in American eyes.

In other words, the Palestinian struggle is finally beginning to be perceived as it is—a just struggle for human dignity and freedom from tyranny. In every respect, the Uprising has altered many well-entrenched attitudes and erased even well-established prejudice. This is no small accomplishment. What the Palestinian youths, armed only with stones and the support of their communities and the PLO, have been able to achieve in such a short time is remarkable. Their success has bolstered a millionfold the efforts of all Arabs to achieve a just solution to the Palestine problem. In the process, the spontaneous combustion of the Uprising has greatly enhanced international dialogue and communication regarding peace in the region. ■

Ambassador Clovis Maksoud is the permanent observer of the League of Arab States at the United Nations and is its chief representative in the United States.

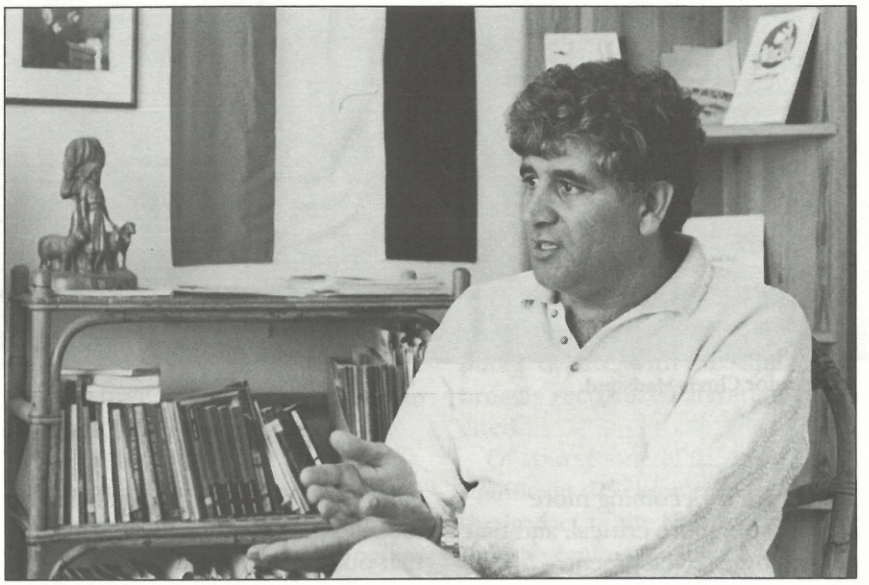
THE MEANING OF THE INTIFADAH

BY MUBARAK AWAD

I was deported from Jerusalem by the Israeli government on June 13, after fighting a long legal battle, to exercise my inherent and inalienable right to live in the land where I was born and raised—the right to live in Palestine. Having been forced to leave, I do not consider myself the loser. To the contrary, my case has demonstrated that the *Intifadah* is succeeding. Israel is losing control over the Palestinians under its occupation.

I am an advocate of and a strong believer in resistance through civil disobedience and nonviolent means. I believe that much can be achieved without resorting to the use of force. I have advocated nonviolence and preached this approach to the Palestinians living under the brunt of Israel's occupation.

Palestinians in the Occupied Territories are convinced that it is unimaginable at this point or at any time in the foreeable future, to outgun the Israelis. Whether premeditated or not, the Palestinians also discovered that they were fighting a winning battle against the Israelis by resisting the occupation through acts of civil disobedience.



Mubarak Awad in his office in Jerusalem. Beverly Orr

The *Intifadah* has set in motion an irreversible process. The Palestinians in the Occupied Territories are now more willing to sacrifice. This is why Israel's policy of killing, beating, imprisoning, and breaking the bones of Palestinians has had no effect except to strengthen their determination to continue fighting.

The *Intifadah* has taught the Palestinians the need for self-discipline and effective organization, both of which require a high level of selflessness. The Unified Leadership of the *Intifadah* has provided guidance, leadership, and a sense of direction. On the day it orders a general commercial strike through its underground leaflets, a general strike is observed.

When the Unified Leadership ordered Palestinians to boycott

See **MEANING**, *page 31*

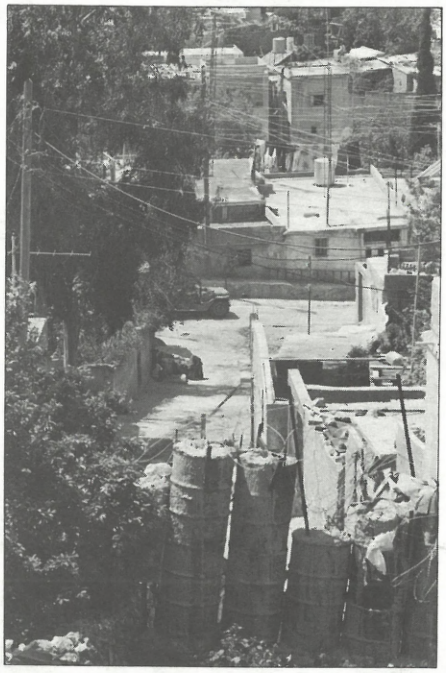
A DAY IN THE LIFE OF THE UPRISING

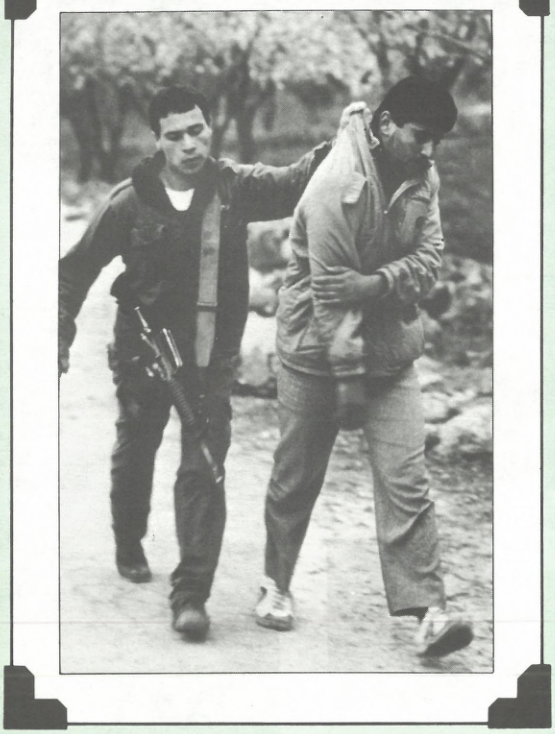
Photos by Beverly Orr, Jon Lister, George Azar, Lance Davidson and Michael Keating

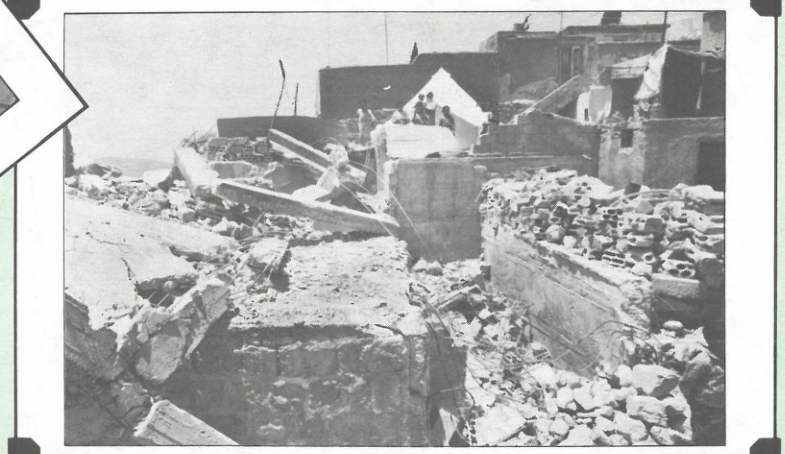
Previous page: A challenge is offered, along with a smile.

Counter-clockwise, from upper left to center right: On the road to self-sufficiency—a community plot outside Ramallah; Rasha's mother screams, "Why do you shoot my little girl? Why don't you shoot me?"; Israeli soldiers chasing the faithful after Friday Prayers; the empty streets of Jalazoon camp blocked and under curfew; women gather to demonstrate in El Esaweh; a family in Beita, West Bank, stands in front of a tent donated by the Red Cros amidst the ruins of their house—one of 14 demolished by the Israeli army; a victim of tear gas; the target—unarmed civilians?; Israeli soldier arresting a Palestinian youth.

Following page: With pride and sorrow, Sobhia Hussain Hamid displays the picture of her son who was shot to death the night he turned 18.







THE SOCIETY OF IN'ASH AL-USRA

BY SHUKRI ABED

On June 20, 1988, the Israeli military authorities closed *In'ash Al-Usra*, the "Family Welfare Society." *In'ash Al-Usra*, is located in Al-Bireh where it operated a variety of community service programs. All but two of those—the "Home" and the day care center—are now shut down.

An Israeli Defense Force spokesman claimed that the Society "indoctrinated children in anti-Israeli violence and anti-Semitism." Mrs. Samiha Khalil, founder and director of the Society, denied these charges, saying "we do not want our children to hate Jews, or anyone else. Like all Palestinians, we are against the occupation, but we are not against Jews. On the contrary, we extend our hand of friendship to Jews." The Society was also "accused" of providing financial support to families whose members had been killed, wounded, or imprisoned during the Uprising or *Intifadah*.

The closing of the Society is widely viewed as another Israeli measure aimed at breaking the spirit of the *Intifadah*. It is the latest in a series of closures of Palestinian institutions—including schools, universities, and newspapers—undertaken by Israeli authorities since the Uprising began in December, 1987.

In'ash Al-Usra was founded in 1965 by a group of six women. It was intended to be a center for women from all walks of life. Some came for training, others for employment, and still others as volunteers offering their time and expertise. By 1967, membership had risen to 42. During its first two years, the Society ran a simple sewing and embroidery center where illiterate young women also learned how to read and write.

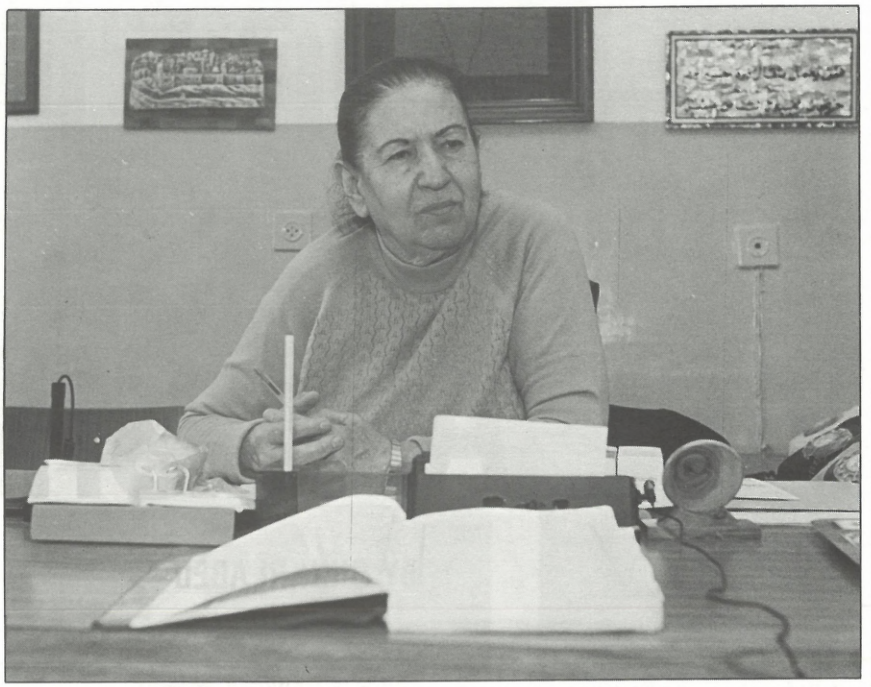
Today, the Society is much larger. It has evolved into an organization dedicated to raising the social, financial, cultural, and educational standards of women so that they may become active, responsible, and independent members of their communities.

In pursuing its goals, the Society tried to channel its activities into productive projects. For example, it established vocational education centers which offered one-year courses to students, services to communities, and provided a source of income for the Society. There were vocational education centers for sewing, knitting, weaving, home economics, baking, and even cosmetology. Young women learned everything from how to sew to how to run a business. Moreover, classes were structured so as to complement productivity. This insured a steady income for the Society, and enabled it to employ people and offer regular assistance to the needy.

In addition to vocational training centers, the Society administered a number of educational and cultural projects. One of the Society's proudest achievements was the Palestinian Folklore and Research Center. Begun in 1972 with the aim of preserving, studying and developing Palestinian folklore, the Center had a library and museum which archived folklore, art, and academic studies. It was usually busy with a number of projects and publications, including a journal, *Society and Heritage*.

Other cultural and educational projects included a kindergarten, adult education and literacy centers (nine in various villages in the Al-

"We do not want our children to hate Jews, or anyone else. Like all Palestinians, we are against the occupation, but we are not against Jews. On the contrary, we extend our hand of friendship to Jews."



Mrs. Samiha Khalil, founder and director of the Society of In'ash Al-Usra. Beverly Orr

Bireh area), a library, a series of bi-monthly seminars, and a day-care center. *In'ash Al-Usra* also maintains a "Home." This is the only project, other than the day-care center, that the Israeli military authorities have allowed to continue operating. The Home is a boardinghouse currently housing 132 young women and girls, most of them orphans, ranging in age from 4 to 22. They attended the Society's kindergarten, day-care center, vocational education centers, or local schools, and their expenses were completely covered, including their medical bills.

The Society focused on helping women and girls, but its goals are much broader. It offered financial assistance to students, and to families that suffered when wage earners were killed or incapacitated in war. And it strived to promote cooperation among various community sectors, deemphasizing differences between people in its projects and among its members and employees.

The Israeli military authorities have shut down most of *In'ash Al-Usra*'s operations for two years. This has deprived the Al-Bireh area of important services upon which it has come to depend. It leaves those who were dependent on the Society without economic support, and it poses a problem for the continued financing of the day-care center and the Home. It also leaves the Israeli military authorities without having made any strategic gains. If anything, the closing has fueled unrest and increased anti-Israeli sentiments as the Al-Bireh area protests this harsh measure. One can only wonder how such a positive and productive society could be accused of being anti-*anything*, unless, of course, activity which is pro-Palestinian—even the most humanitarian kind—is by definition anti-Israeli. ■

Shukri Abed holds a Ph.D. from Harvard University. He is a freelance writer based in Jerusalem.

DUKAKIS AND THE PALESTINE QUESTION

BY JOHN ROBERTS

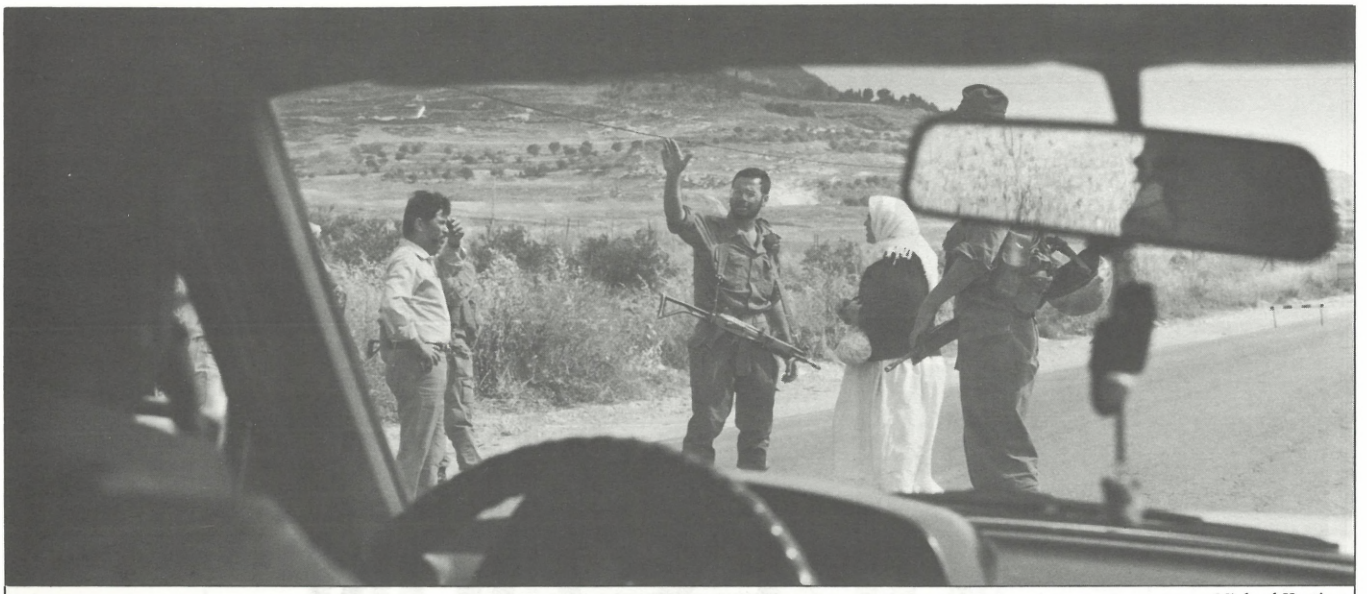
American politicians were quick to see that the *Intifadah* required cautious comment on Middle Eastern issues, lest their remarks be unfavorably associated with the graphic images of beatings and repression shown on U.S. television news programs. Thus Democratic presidential contestant Michael Dukakis won the important Florida and New York primaries without conceding much to an Israeli lobby which was already fearful that Israel would lose public sympathy and support. Indeed the answers Dukakis gave to questions concerning Palestinian self-determination would have branded him as a heretic had they been uttered in the 1984 election campaign. Ironically, both Dukakis and the Israeli lobby may have misjudged the innate conservatism of U.S. public opinion.

While there is no doubt that public attitudes towards Israel's handling of the Palestinian issue have changed, the changes have been strictly limited. The U.S. journal *Public Opinion*, analyzing one of the rare opinion polls covering U.S. attitudes toward the Middle East, noted that while a narrow plurality of Americans believe Israeli reaction to the *Intifadah* has been too harsh, more Americans believe the revolt was triggered by the PLO for political reasons. These Americans do not accept the alternative view that the *Intifadah* is a natural response to legitimate grievances.

The survey's prime weakness is that it was carried out as long ago as January 20-24, just five weeks into the *Intifadah* and before Secretary of State George Shultz acknowledged the continuing need to recognize Palestinian as well as Israeli aspirations for peace. Certainly, during a series of recent talks with American schoolteachers, businessmen and other professionals, this correspondent has discovered an intense concern not only with Israel's handling of the *Intifadah* but with the underlying causes of what is increasingly being perceived as the Israeli-Palestinian issue.

That this concern is shared specifically by Jewish Americans was borne out in a poll published in the *Los Angeles Times* three months after the start of the *Intifadah*. It showed that four out of five Jewish voters favored Secretary of State George Shultz's peace initiative, and opposed Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's rejection of it. The poll, the result of a massive postal campaign in which forms were sent to 50,000 Jews, also revealed that a clear majority of American Jews backed Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres—leader of the Labor Party.

Such surveys show the distance between U.S. government officials and public opinion on key aspects of the Palestinian-Israeli issue. Analysts and professionals may categorize the heart of the issue as a dispute between two peoples—the Israelis and the Palestinians—over essentially the same piece of land. But the survey in *Public Opinion*, carried out by Penn & Schoen Associates, shows that ordinary Americans take a rather different view. The survey asked the following albeit restricted question: "Is the responsibility for the Palestinians on the West Bank and in Gaza that of Israel alone, or is it the responsibility of Israel and the Arab states in the Middle East?"



Michael Keating

Some 56 percent of those surveyed held both Israel and the Arab states to be responsible; only 15 percent believed it was solely an Israeli responsibility.

Significantly, the question as to whether it is the responsibility of just two parties, the Palestinians and Israel, was not asked. This may reflect the fact that the survey was commissioned by the Anti-Defamation League, one of the leading Jewish organizations in the United States. Yet the poll made some points remarkably clear—and these were not necessarily points with which those who commissioned the survey will be very pleased.

Firstly, the poll found that 51 percent of those surveyed continued to have a negative perception of the PLO, down a little from a similar 1981 poll finding that 58 percent took an unfavorable view of the organization. Even so, no less than 74 percent of those questioned believed that the PLO should be invited to paticipate in international negotiations, and 78 percent still favored the convening of an international peace conference.

These are striking results. U.S. policy is aimed at convening such a conference. But while the United States government places conditions on PLO attendance, the American people take a much simpler view: the PLO should participate—period.

While the United States government places conditions on PLO attendance, the American people take a much simpler view: the PLO should participate—period.

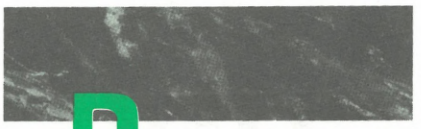
A 48-42 percent plurality believed the United States should open talks with the PLO. And a slightly larger 44-26 percent plurality favored the establishment of some kind of a Palestinian state. Some 31 percent believed such a state should be federated with Jordan and 13 percent said the West Bank and Gaza should of themselves comprise a state.

Nor are such views confined to the United States' non-Jewish community: the *Los Angeles Times* poll showed 29 percent of Jews not only supported the idea of U.S. talks with the PLO, but also the idea of a Palestinian homeland. The overall conclusions are thus contradictory. Americans show a strong desire for peace, and for the involvement of all parties to the dispute—even if some parties, such as the PLO, are not perceieved to be representative. There is a mistrust of the PLO, on which Arafat and his aides need to work if they are to capitalize on the other positive views held by Americans about the Palestinian question. Adoption of Bassam Abu Sharif's proposal (see page 8) would certainly be one way forward; continuation of the *Intifadah*, so long as the Palestinians are still clearly perceived as the victims of violence and not its perpetrators, is another.

Above all, both recent surveys

and common sense indicate that U.S. public opinion is not dogmatic about the Middle East. Israel is favored and the Arabs distrusted—but the yearning for peace is there. And this can be tapped by American politicians. Israeli lobby concern that sympathy for Israel is being eroded by images of Israeli repression prompted the Jewish community leaders' appeals to Shultz last February, and convinced the doubting U.S. Secretary of State to begin his belated series of shuttle missions to the Middle East.

Equally important, such concerns prompted Michael Dukakis to be highly circumspect in his key campaigns in New York and Florida when answering questions posed by predominantly Jewish audiences. Both New York and Florida have a large number of Jewish voters. During the New York primary, much was made of the fact that Jesse Jackson, who in 1979 physically embraced PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat, had publicly endorsed the idea of a Palestinian state. Rather less was made of the fact that Governor Dukakis of Massachusetts, who has a Jewish wife and who garnered 70 percent of the Jewish vote, did not rule out the idea of a Palestinian state. Instead he commented that "it's the parties who are negotiating who have to make those judgments"—a remark so evasive that had it been said by any candidate in the 1984 campaign, that candidate would have immediately forfeited the Jewish vote. Nor did Dukakis rule out talks with the PLO. Instead he commented: "You know, if Arafat stood up tomorrow and said: 'I accept [UN Security Council] Resolution 242 and 338; I'm prepared to negotiate on that basis'—or for that matter, other Palestinian leaders or the Syrians or whoever (were to say that), I think we would have a basis for



During the New York primary, much was made of the fact that Jesse Jackson, who in 1979 physically embraced PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat, had publicly endorsed the idea of a Palestinian state. Rather less was made of the fact that Governor Dukakis of Massachusetts, who has a Jewish wife and who garnered 70 percent of the Jewish vote, did not rule out the idea of a Palestinian state.

permanent peace." Such remarks show that while Dukakis has still some way to go to catch up with public opinion on the issue, he is nonetheless ahead of the Reagan administration in his approach to some key elements on a peace settlement.

Dukakis himself sometimes seems to epitomize the ambivalence towards the Palestinian-Israeli conflict that so characterizes U.S. public opinion. When the primary campaign started, one of the goals set by Campaign Manager Paul Bograd for Dukakis was "don't get in the middle of a litmus test primary that could hurt you in the fall, *a la* 1984, when the whole debate seemed to turn on whether the capital of Israel should be in Jerusalem or Tel Aviv." In California, with the nomination already virtually wrapped up, Dukakis declared that the United States should recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. It could be argued that this remark signified the Democratic contestant's tiredness towards the end of the gruelling nomination process.

But Dukakis does not usually drop clangors. His remarks on the PLO were carefully weighed and his comments on Jerusalem probably represent a real belief that since in practice the government of Israel is carried out from Jerusalem, the United States might as well recognize reality when it sees it. By extension, one could argue, the United States might also recognize the reality of the *Intifadah* and of popular Palestinian support for the PLO. In this context, the logical question to ask of Dukakis is whether he would also recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Palestine, as well as of Israel. ■

John Roberts is the U.S. correspondent for Al-Hayat, *a London-based news magazine.*

ARAB-AMERICAN AFFAIRS

ARAB-AMERICAN RESPONSE TO THE UPRISING

BY JOHN EGAN

In response to the eight-month-old Palestinian uprising in the West Bank and Gaza, Arab-American and human rights groups have strengthened their efforts to win wider support for the Palestinian people's right to self-determination. The near-continuous print and electronic media coverage of the *Intifadah* and of Israeli soldiers' attempts to contain it have brought the Palestinian struggle into mainstream America's living room. This has presented an unprecedented opportunity to change American public opinion and ultimately American policy toward that conflict.

NAAA: WORKING THE HILL

The National Association of Arab-Americans (NAAA) has concentrated its efforts in the past few months on pushing the issue of the human plight of the Palestinians under occupation. Its approach, while lobbying members of Congress, has been to capitalize on the sympathy the Uprising has generated, and not so much to criticize Israeli policy. This new approach, according to Evan Hendricks, an NAAA spokesman, seems to have been quite successful.

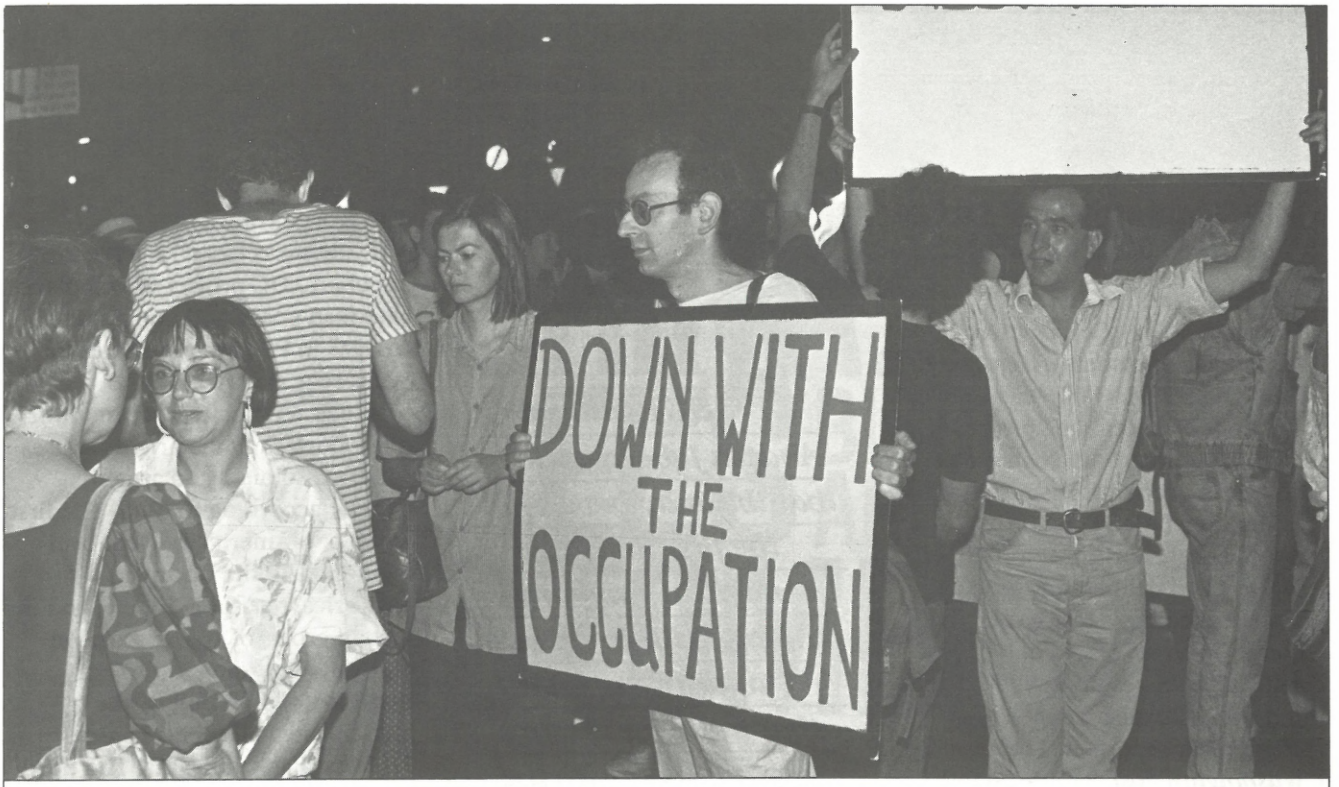
The eight-month-old *Intifadah* "has undone 40 years of anti-Palestinian, anti-Arab propaganda; converting Americans' image of Palestinians from faceless terrorists to human beings," NAAA President George Moses said recently. "We have a tremendous opportunity to translate the sacrifices made by Palestinians in recent months into support on Capitol Hill for Palestinian rights, and we must not let it slip away," he added.

The House Proposes Increased Aid to the Palestinians

Tangible support from the U.S. Congress has come in the form of a House of Representatives' proposal to provide $30.5 million in humanitarian aid to Palestinians in the occupied territories. This proposal even has the support of the staunchly pro-Israel Senator Daniel K. Inouye (D-Hawaii), Chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee's subcommittee on Foreign Operations. Since this proposal will be attached to the Omnibus Foreign Aid Bill, there is little likelihood the measure will fail, according to Hendricks.

Support for Awad in Congress

Israel's attempt to deport Mubarak Awad, cofounder of the Palestinian Center for the Study of Nonviolence, drew letters of protest from Representative Lee H. Hamilton (D-Indiana), the chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee's subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East, as well as from Representative David E. Bonior (D-Michigan). "Bonior has been consistent in his support for peaceful solutions to political conflict—whether it's in Central America or in the Middle East," Hendricks noted. The Israeli government subsequently deported the Jerusalem-born Awad (who is a U.S. citizen), and NAAA has sponsored speaking events for the nonviolence advocate as well as meetings with journalists in an effort to better inform Americans of his approach to resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.



Congressmen Want to Repeal The Anti-Terrorism Act of 1987

Eighteen congressmen have cosponsored a bill, H.R. 4078, which would repeal the Anti-Terrorism Act of 1987, passed by Congress last December. The Anti-Terrorism Act of 1987 closed the Palestine Information Office (PIO) in Washington, D.C. and threatens to close the PLO's Observer Mission to the United Nations in New York. Sponsors of H.R. 4078 charge that last year's anti-terrorism act unconstitutionally closed the PIO, and any attempt to close the Palestine Liberation Organization Observer Mission would violate the charter agreement between the U.N. and the United States. Under the U.N. charter agreement, the international body is allowed to accredit its own delegates. The bill's sponsors include Represenatatives George W. Crockett, Jr. (D-Michigan), Mervyn M. Dymally (D-California and Chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus), Nick Joe Rahall (D-West Virginia), Barney Frank (D-Massachusetts), and David Bonior (D-Michigan). NAAA is throwing its support behind H.R. 4078, which was introduced March 3, then referred to the House Foreign Affairs Committee for hearing. The bill's sponsors were not sure if it will be acted on before Congress recesses.

ARAB-AMERICAN INSTITUTE: CHANGE FROM THE BOTTOM UP

Another approach to political change has been advocated by the Arab American Institute (AAI) in Washington, D.C. Instead of lobbying the country's top political officials at the White House, State Department, and Defense Department, AAI has sought to change U.S. Middle East policy through a grass-roots campaign across the country, with impressive results. The group's goal is to get Arab-Americans involved in the political process, be they Democrats or Republicans, so they can better influence the issues which are of concern to them. To date AAI has reported a number of successes: 11 states, including Texas, California, Virginia, Washington, and Vermont now have resolutions calling for Palestinian statehood. These state-level delegations will press their demands on the Democratic and Republican party national platform committees.

AAI's "Vote 88" project, which was launched last spring, seeks to increase voting registration among Arab-Americans, to identify the issues of concern to the community, and to translate that concern into policy proposals. Over 10,000 Arab-Americans participated in shaping AAI's draft proposals on education, foreign policy, economic opportunity and civil and political rights, and the issues were discussed at 17 town meetings across the country.

"We are a political constituency coming of age, and the diversity of our concerns demonstrates our increasing political sophistication," AAI Executive Director James Zogby said. "We do not seek to impose an 'Arab agenda' or 'Arab solutions' on U.S. policymakers. Rather, we seek to open the political debate on the issues of importance to Arab-Americans and all other ethnic groups and minorities," he added.

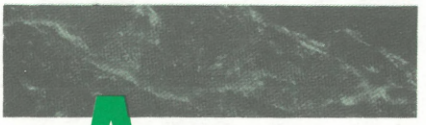
ADC EFFORTS HALTED THE SALE OF TEAR GAS TO ISRAEL

Washington, D.C.-based Transtechnology Corporation suspended shipments of tear gas to Israel in early May following meetings between the company's officers and representatives of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC). According to the civil rights organization, Israeli soldiers had deliberately used Transtechnology's tear gas in homes, schools, places of worship and hospitals, resulting in 41 deaths and over 100 miscarriages. Subsequent reports in *The Washington Post* and the Israeli newspaper *Al-Hamishmar*, as well as by the United Nations, confirmed that Israel was using tear gas not as an instrument of crowd control, but as a punitive measure against Palestinian civilians. Transtechnology's "corporate responsibility" in stopping shipments of tear gas to Israel was praised by ADC President Abdeen Jabara, who noted that this may have been "the first time any American company trading with Israel has voluntarily suspended that trade for reasons having to do with the violation of Palestinian human rights."

(Israeli soldiers have "deliberately misused" tear gas in the occupied territories, and the government and military authorities tacitly condoned this by making no public statement condemning the use of tear gas in confined spaces, according to a June 1 report issued by Amnesty International USA.)

U.S. Trade Representative Asked to Investigate Israeli Treatment of Palestinian Unions

Israel's repeated closure of Palestinian trade union offices, harassment of union officials, and deportation of trade unionists constitutes a "persistent violation of internationally recognized workers' rights," argued ADC in a legal brief filed June 8 with the office of the U.S. Trade Representative in Washington, D.C. Noting that U.S. law prohibits the extension of the General System of Trade Preferences to any country "if such country has not taken or is not taking steps to afford internationally recognized workers' rights in the country," ADC has requested that the U.S. Trade Representative investigate Palestinian workers' rights in the occupied territories.



ADC President Abdeen Jabara, noted that this may have been "the first time any American company trading with Israel has voluntarily suspended that trade for reasons having to do with the violation of Palestinian human rights."

Watching Israel

"Eyewitness Israel" is a recently launched ADC project which places American peace and human rights activists in Palestinian villages for two weeks at a time. In the occupied territories, they monitor and report on human rights abuses by Israeli soldiers and armed settlers, according to ADC. The first group of 11 Americans spent over two weeks in the occupied territories, returning June 6, and the second group of 15 departed on June 14. According to Project Coordinator Gail Boling, the participants will spend 16 days in the West Bank and Gaza. The third "Eyewitness Israel" trip will depart July 12 for approximately 17 days in the occupied territories.

CHICAGO DATABASE PROJECT DISTRIBUTES INFORMATION ON INTIFADAH

The Chicago-based Database Project on Palestinian Human Rights has assembled a briefing packet of nearly 200 pages. The packet contains an updated list of Palestinians killed since the *Intifadah* began on December 9, 1987. Firsthand descriptions of events in the occupied territories are included in the packet, as well as translations from the Hebrew and Arabic press, and excerpts from the findings of other human rights groups such as Amnesty International and Physicians for Human Rights. The Database Project regularly updates its packet, and the project has been cited by *Harper's* magazine, *The Progressive*, and *The Nation*, as well as more specialized Middle East publications, including *Middle East Reports, The Journal of Palestine Studies,* and *Israel and Palestine.* ■

John P. Egan, a journalist living in Washington, D.C., was managing editor of the Washington Report on Middle East Affairs in 1986-87.

CHINA: ISRAEL'S BIGGEST ARMS CUSTOMER

BY JANE HUNTER

The latest reports of Israeli arms sales to the People's Republic of China surfaced in the spring of this year. At the time, Israel and China signed two new arms deals. Shortly afterwards, the Bitish publications *Jane's Defence Weekly* and the *Sunday Times* reported that previous Israeli military sales to China totaled $3 billion. It is believed that China, which only began large-scale arms purchases from Israel in 1980, is now Israel's biggest arms customer.

The latest deals, both of which were reported by the *Sunday Times*, involve advanced missile technology and the radar system developed for the Lavi aircraft fighter. The Lavi project was abandoned by Israel last August at the urging of the United States, which had provided a major part of its development funds.

Another deal, signed in 1985 and worth billions, according to *US News and World Report*, is for a 4,150-mile electronic border defense system. The magazine says that Israeli technicians are installing the equipment.

China is anxious to modernize its arsenal but reluctant to spend hard currency on weapons, and Israel has been willing to sell technology, if orders for weapons could not be had. The Chinese value Israel's know-how because it incorporates significant amounts of U.S. technology and because Israeli weapons have proven effective against Soviet systems. Soviet military systems are deployed by both India and the U.S.S.R., two countries China considers a threat.

Israel has also helped China update its 1950s-vintage, Soviet model T-59 tanks. It is believed to have helped China build the Gabriel ship-to-ship missile, and to have made advanced electronic systems available to Beijing.

Rotating teams of Israelis go to China. In 1987, *The Australian* set the size of the teams at 24. This year columnist Jack Anderson said "more than 200 Israeli advisers are quietly stationed in Beijing at any one time" under a secret pact signed in 1981.

Quiet is the watchword. China does not have diplomatic relations with Israel and publicly supports the PLO. It has also become a leading arms exporter, especially to Middle Eastern nations, and too much friendliness with Israel would cut into sales. Both governments routinely deny reports of arms sales.

Apparently, Israel contracted with Beijing to supply the Lavi radar system while the project was still going forward. According to the *Sunday Times*, after the cancellation Israel continued work on a prototype of the aircraft in order to complete development of the radar system.

Israeli officials told the *Sunday Times* of London that the sale had Washington's blessing. Their uncharacteristic acknowledgment of the deal suggests this might have been the case.

There have also been reports that Israeli technicians laid off when the Lavi was terminated have gone to China to work on the development of a combat aircraft.

The missile deal was revealed when Zvi Gafni, a Hong Kong-based Israeli arms dealer, was arrested on an unrelated charge in December 1987. He was found to have five false Philippine passports in his possession. The passports had been used by a team from the state-

owned Israeli Military Industries to secretly visit Beijing in November 1987 and strike the deal for trajectory-corrected missile warheads, laser-guided armor-piercing devices, and artillery shells in calibers ranging from 122 to 155 mm. The *Sunday Times* based this sequence of events on documents it obtained relating to the sale.

Gafni, the Israeli arms dealer who has a record of drug offenses, technology smuggling, and counterfeiting offenses, was sentenced this May to two years in prison. According to the *Sunday Times*, the Israeli government had used him as an intermediary with the Chinese government before; and in this deal he approached the Chinese together with the Israeli consul-general in Hong Kong, Reuven Merhav. Gafni told the court he was holding the passports in case they were needed again.

AN ISRAELI CONSULAR DELEGATION TO THE U.S.S.R.

After months of negotiations, Moscow has authorized the visit in July of an Israeli consular delegation to the U.S.S.R. The group is expected to institute new visa procedures which will prevent Jewish émigrés from going anywhere but Israel. In the wake of the Moscow summit and America's own failure to initiate a peace process, Washington has shifted gears and is now encouraging Soviet involvement, reports the *Los Angeles Times*. Washington hopes that the responsibility of involvement will force Moscow to modify its support of an authoritative international conference with the full participation of the PLO, and of Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories. Both Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres have met with Soviet officials recently, and Israel remains eager for the reestablishment of diplomatic relations, even though Moscow has tied them to the convening of a peace conference.

Jack Anderson said "more than 200 Israeli advisers are quietly stationed in Beijing at any one time" under a secret pact signed in 1981.

ISRAEL SIGNS NEW ACCORD WITH SOUTH AFRICA

In a reversal of its 1987 pledge to sign no new agreements with South Africa, Israel's foreign ministry has admitted that a senior treasury official will go there in August to negotiate a new economic accord. Meanwhile, Israeli technicians have reportedly helped the South African Air Force overcome Angola's anti-aircraft defenses. Angola claims that Israeli soldiers are fighting alongside the South Africans in southern Angola, and that Israel is training 450 members of the South African proxy force UNITA in Zaire.

THE EEC AND PALESTINIAN FARM PRODUCTS

A senior official in the Israeli agriculture ministry has said that agreement is near on allowing West Bank and Gaza Palestinian farmers to export their produce directly to the European Economic Community (EEC). Israel agreed to this in principle in 1986, but has delayed implementation, most recently wrangling over whether the exports would bear the label "West Bank" or the name of the nearest town (the latter, it has been decided). Now Israel must allow shipments to proceed if it wants the European Parliament to reconsider its own economic pact with the EEC; the Parliament refused to ratify the pact last March because of Israel's harsh response to the Palestinian Uprising.

NORWAY TO INSPECT HEAVY WATER SOLD TO ISRAEL

After a year of fruitless attempts to enforce its contractual right to inspect the heavy water (a material used as a medium in nuclear reactors) it sold Israel in 1959, Norway has agreed to limit its inspection only to the heavy water Israel says is "remaining."

Norway was spurred to demand the inspection after Mordechai Vanunu revealed details of Israel's nuclear weapons production at Dimona, where he had worked. Norway will not be allowed to inspect the heavy water in the Dimona reactor to see if Israel has violated its "peaceful use" pledge.

Nuclear proliferation expert Professor Gary Milhollin charged that Israel might have bought a new batch of Norwegian heavy water from Rumania to have a "clean" specimen for Norway to inspect. ■

Jane Hunter is editor of the monthly publication Israeli Foreign Affairs.

ISRAEL: A U.S. ALLY OR A LIABILITY?

BY GHADA TALHAMI

Living by the Sword: America and Israel in the Middle East, 1968-1987. By Stephen Green. Brattleboro, Vermont: Amana Books, 1988. 279 pages, $19.95 (cloth).

The Lobby: Jewish Political Power and American Foreign Policy. By Edward Tivnan. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987. 304 pages, $19.95 (cloth).

There has always been a great deal of commentary on the limitless power and effectiveness of the pro-Israel lobby in the United States. Concern for the independence of America's Mideast policy, however, has usually been voiced by Arab rather than American commentators. A serious departure from this pattern is to be found in the two books reviewed here. They express increasing American dismay over the evolving nature of American-Israeli relations.

Living by the Sword illustrates the might and arrogance of Israel, the Mideast's greatest military power, and it exposes America's contribution to the nuclearization of the region. *The Lobby* gives an insider's view of American-Jewish efforts to harness the interests of this superpower to the interests of the tiniest of states. Together, these two studies instruct the reader about the details of the continued militarization of the Arab-Israeli conflict, and the stranglehold which the pro-Israel lobby maintains over Congress, the White House, and even the American-Jewish community itself.

Both studies trace the meteoric rise of Israel's influence in Washington and the disastrous consequences for Israel and the United States. They demonstrate how the American system has been particularly permeable to the tactics of an organized and committed ethnic community, and how American policymakers have distorted the nature of the American-Israeli relationship to justify their dependence on Jewish campaign contributions. Indeed, by the 1980s, Israel's lobbyists in Washington were arguing that the United States needed Israel more than Israel needed the United States.

Stephen Green's *Living by the Sword* chronicles major episodes in American-Israeli relations from 1968 to 1987. The study serves as a sequel to his earlier work, *Taking Sides*, which covered the years 1948 to 1967. Green describes the drastic change in the relationship during the Johnson administration, when Israel the client state was suddenly accorded the status of a major ally. Beginning with the 1968 decision to sell Israel the F-4 Phantom jet, the fastest and most advanced interceptor in the world, U.S. policymakers simply refused to acknowledge that Israel was becoming an increasingly militarized fortress threatening all of its neighbors.

Concluding that the Soviet Union was definitely more responsible in its role as the sole supplier of arms to the Arab states than the United States was in arming Israel, Green moves to document the failure of the United States to check Israel's growing nuclear capability. He shows that despite President Johnson's immense pride in finalizing the Treaty of Non-Proliferation of nuclear weapons (NPT), he provided Israel with its first dependable nuclear weapons delivery system in the consignment

of the F-4 Phantoms.

The Carter administration duplicated this trend when it wavered and lost an opportunity to check Israel's nuclear build-up after the South Atlantic nuclear test of 1979. The explosion on Prince Edward Islands was clearly the product of South African-Israeli nuclear cooperation, but time was allowed to lapse after that explosion before American collection of air and water samples. Since the White House did not obtain any intelligence reports on this incident, the Carter administration, deliberately or otherwise, missed a historic opportunity to confront Israel's rising nuclear power.

Whether this inaction resulted from fear of the consequences of alienating the American-Jewish commnity on the eve of the 1980 elections, or simply from lack of interest in pressuring Israel, we do not know. Carter was not the only president guilty of such vacillation. In 1981, when Israel attacked the Iraqi nuclear reactor, the Reagan administration also failed to elicit any meaningful American pressure against Israeli monopoly of the Mideast nuclear field.

Tivnan's study, on the other hand, argues that Zionism has always regarded influence as one of its most effective weapons. From the days of Theodor Herzl's audiences with European and Ottoman heads of state, to Chaim Weizmann's lobbying of the British political establishment, Zionists always compensated for the absence of immediate territorial links to Palestine by cultivating friends in high places. Tivnan dates the rise of the pro-Israel lobby in the United States, however, to the early 1950s when American Jews wanted to counterbalance the State Department's perceived tilt towards the Arabs.

He notes in great detail how the American-Jewish community gradually abandoned all domestic issues concerning the civil rights of American Jews in favor of a concentration on Israeli issues. The influence of the American-Jewish community has been concentrated on securing military and economic support for Israel and nothing else. Israel uses the American-Jewish community as its own public relations agency.

These two studies instruct the reader about the details of the continued militarization of the Arab-Israeli conflict, and the stranglehold which the pro-Israel lobby maintains over Congress, the White House, and even the American-Jewish community itself.

Just like Green, Tivnan describes how Israel continued to seek and receive the latest American military equipment even when there was no visible threat to its security. He concurs with Green that because of the strength of the Israeli lobby, the United States at times has pursued a contradictory Mideast policy which inflicted damage on its moderate Arab allies.

But nowhere is Tivnan more persuasive than when he describes Jimmy Carter's "Jewish problem." After Carter's innocent reference to a "Palestinian homeland," in his Clinton, Massachusetts speech, and the subsequent ripple effect of shock and outrage among Israel's friends in the United States, the new president was continually chastised for his deeds and his rhetoric. Thus, another uproar developed because of the reference to "the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people," in the Soviet-American memorandum of 1977.

The lobby's ambition is not only to convince Americans that Israel is a valuable strategic ally, but also to convert all military and economic aid to Israel into grants, dispensing with the loan portion in the aid to Israel. This in itself has proved to be detrimental to Israel, in Tivnan's view, since Israel's economy has become ever more dependent on outside infusions of funds.

The tone of the book is pessimistic, as it warns that the welfare of the entire American-Jewish community has been skewed to meet Israel's needs. This is not in the best interests of Israel, he maintains, just as Green argues that it is also not in the best interest of the United States. ■

Ghada Talhami is assistant professor of politics at Lake Forest College, Lake Forest, Illinois, specializing in the Middle East.

MEANING, *from page 14*

Israeli products, it urged them at the same time to become more self-reliant and to organize their respective communities. Community plots have sprung up all over the Occupied Territories. These plots are planted with vegetables and fruits so that the Israelis would find it hard, if not impossible, to break the fighting spirit of the people by restricting the flow of food supplies, as it has attempted to do in the refugee camps.

It is estimated that there are about 60-70 organized committees in the Occupied Territories that deal with issues relating to health, education, water, social welfare, and the like. What Israel is witnessing is the collapse of its rule despite the presence of its heavily armed soldiers.

Israel's use of prisons has resulted in the exact opposite effect than the one intended. There are about 7,000 Palestinian men and women who are now in Israeli jails. Instead of breaking the backbone of the *Intifadah*, being jailed is synonymous with receiving a recognition award. Many are anxious and willing to have that award bestowed upon them as well.

For peace and quiet to return to the Occupied Territories, Israel will have to give them up. At the same time, the United States has to realize that its policy of unequivocal material and political support for Israel is damaging to the prospects of peace in the Middle East. U.S. assistance has made Israel's occupation of Arab lands possible and affordable.

If Israel does not relinquish control of the Occupied Territories peacefully, it will only be a matter of time before it is forced out of the Occupied Territories under, possibly, violent conditions. Palestinians want their freedoms and national rights, and they are willing to die to attain them. This is what the *Intifadah* is all about. ■

Mubarak Awad is a cofounder of the Jerusalem-based Palestinian Center for the Study of Nonviolence.

Palestinians in the Occupied Territories are convinced that it is unimaginable at this point or at any time in the foreeable future, to outgun the Israelis. Whether premeditated or not, the Palestinians also discovered that they were fighting a winning battle against the Israelis by resisting the occupation through acts of civil disobedience.

Tear gas canisters used by Israeli soldiers. Beverly Orr

And

Beita

still stands.

The Mission
of the League of Arab States in the United States
wishes to congratulate the publisher and the editor of
The Return on the resumption of the magazine's publication
in Washington, D.C.

Israel's decision to shut down *Al-Awda* (The Return)
in occupied Jerusalem demonstrates the bankruptcy of
Israel's policies and its inability to weaken the spirit of
the *Intifadah.*

Your work is a testimony to the resilience and
resourcefulness of the Palestinian people.

We wish you success, and through you, we salute
all the heroes of the *Intifadah.*

Ambassador Clovis Maksoud,
permanent observer of the League of Arab States
at the United Nations and its
chief representative in the United States

THE RETURN

AN INTERNATIONAL PALESTINIAN MONTHLY MAGAZINE

Bulk Rate
U.S. Postage
PAID
Washington, D.C.
Permit No. 2977